/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

●411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

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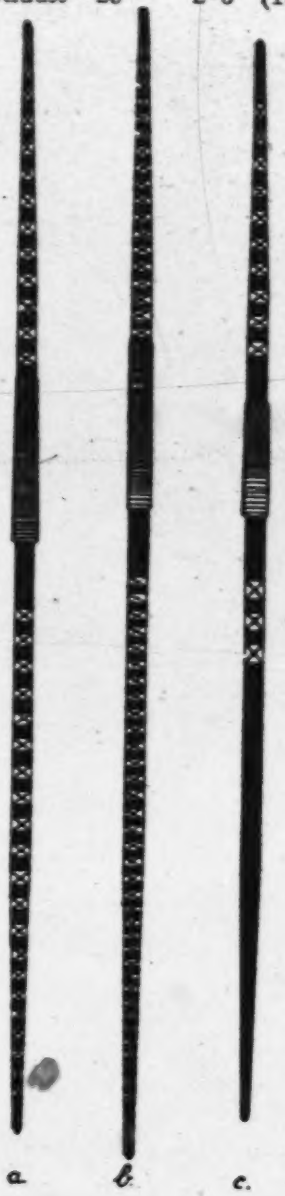

Fig. 16.—Bows for big hunting.

a: Ki clan (21/12)
b: Apibore clan (38/18)
c: Bādejeba clan (3/10)

/288 cont./

411 53 237 the ceremonial bow. As in the preceding type, /289/ the central part is of bare wood, save for the protective rolling. All the rest of the bow is covered with ornamentation which varies with different specimens: sheaths of glued on feathers, rings of feathers or fur, mosaics of feathers of different colors, etc.... All along the wood long feathers or throat feathers of the arara, in pairs or singly, are attached. Finally, some specimens show a bunch of varicolored feathers at the top end.

411 53 237 614 The origin of the bow can be deduced from the three following elements: 1) nature and color of the casing of the wood; 2) number, distribution, nature, and color of the feathers adhering to the wood; 3) nature of the feathers or insignia placed in the bunch at the top; thus, some bows of the Bakoro clan have, in the middle of the feathers at the end, a small wooden lath covered with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, this technique being its privilege.

Figure 17 /see p. 29/ gives four "formulas" for ceremonial bows:

a. Not identified; 1.52 meters long. Wood covered with small red /rouge/ feathers glued on with resin; on the sides two crests of white /blanc/ down broken in the middle.

br: blue and red arara feathers
vr: green and red arara feathers
bj: blue and yellow arara feathers
bn: throat feathers in alternate white and black bands
j: yellow toucan feathers.

b. Āróre clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with red feathers glued on. All the hanging feathers are attached in pairs. Top bunch of small red and yellow parrot feathers, with five long emblematic feathers.

b: blue —r: red
br, bj, bn: as above.

c. Āróre (ʒebegeʷõ) clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with alternate rings of black, yellow /jaune/, and red feathers glued on.

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Ewăguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:
harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;
"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;
bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;
ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

[616] [531] 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
531 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. ᵃKario Bokodori — C. Ewăguddu (?) —
D. Apibóre kujagoreŏ — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore —
H. Bădejeba (Bakoro) — I. Āróre — J. Kŏge Čera —
K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Āróre.

[237] Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

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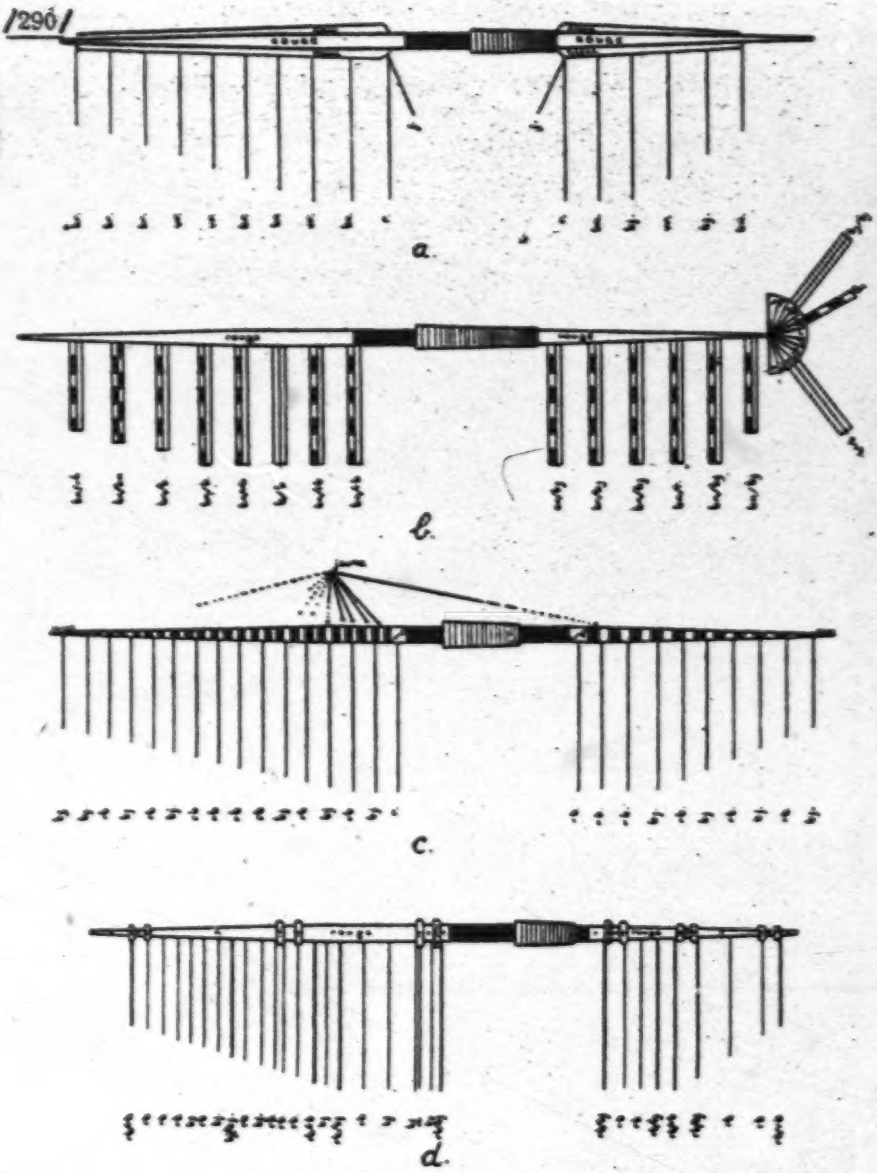

Fig. 17. Ceremonial bows.

/291 cont./

411 531 614 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is rather rarely used.

[239] B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Ārőre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 614 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together, generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone [301] [239] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band [283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the 000 loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

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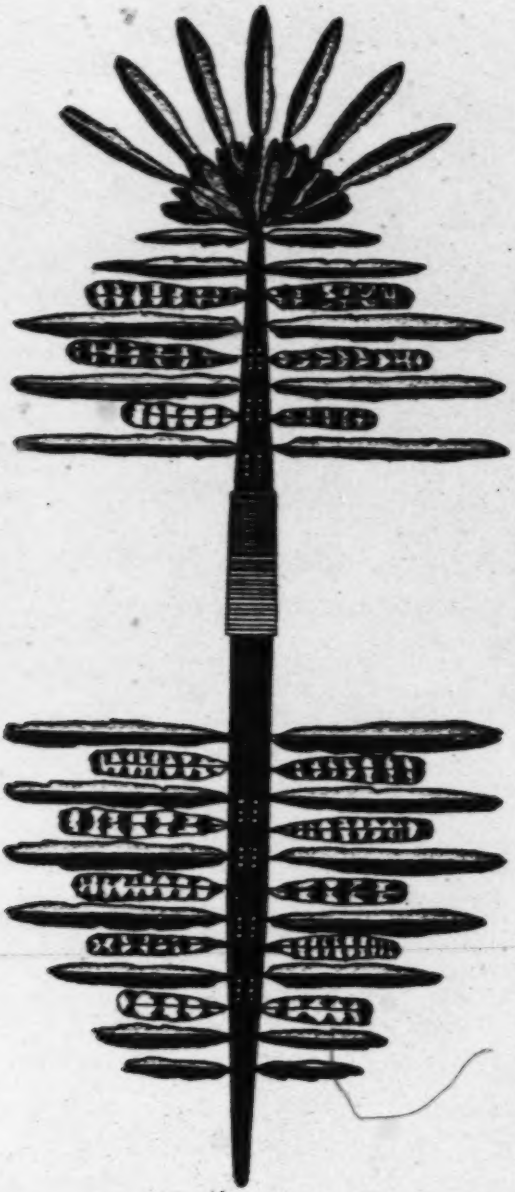

Fig. 18.—Ceremonial bow /in color in original/.

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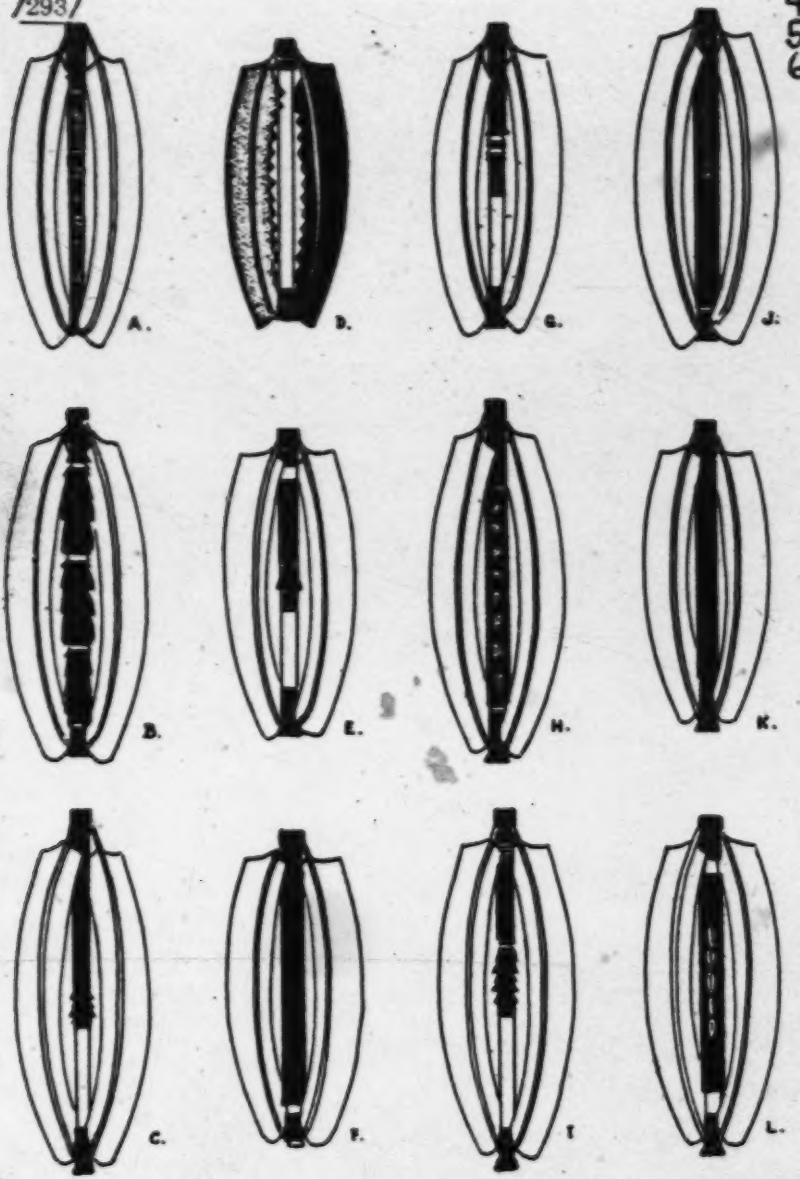

Fig. 19. —Arrows with emblems /in color in original/.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

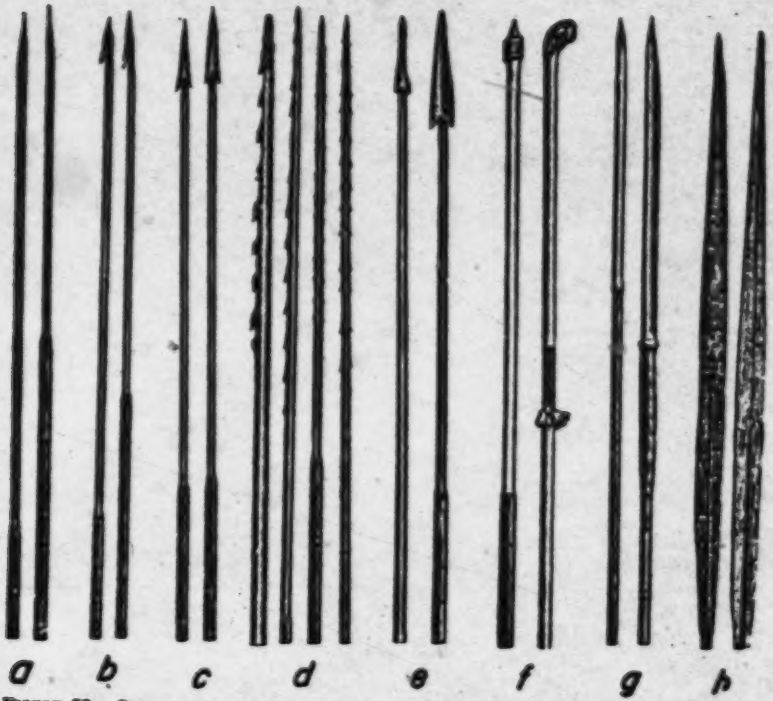

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (⅛ natural size). (*After* Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*). The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather patterns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

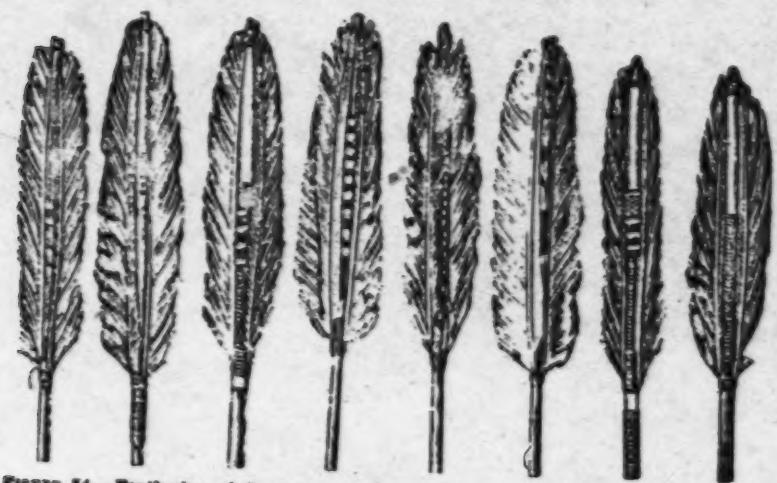

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

Miscellaneous.—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*) wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

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643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
506 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

596 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
324 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[978] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
[24] broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on
[826] their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water.

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design.

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers.

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo

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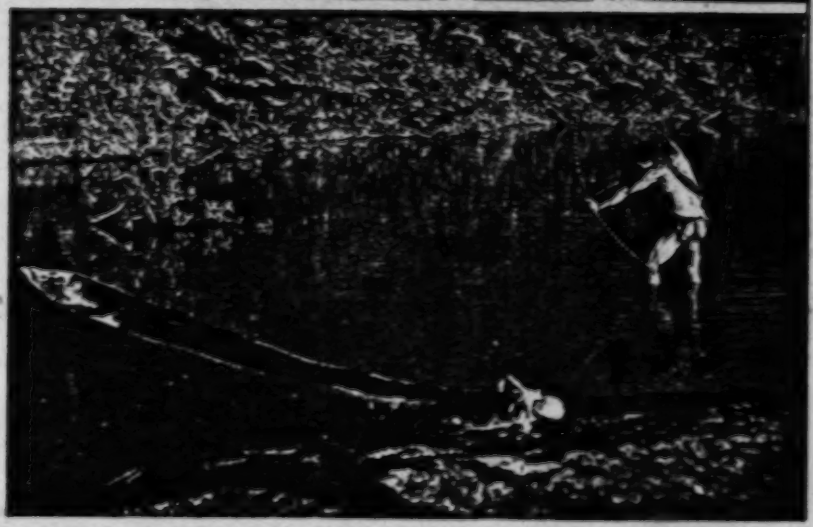

PLATE 81.—Stereography. Top: Arrow release. At village of Kajara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) Bottom: Ada Lawrence, Bororo shooting fish. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

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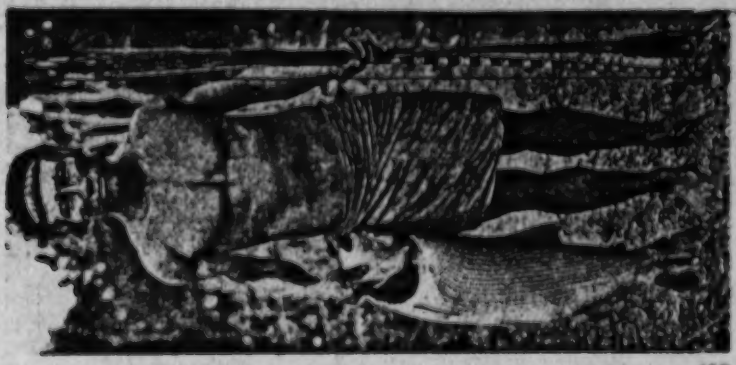

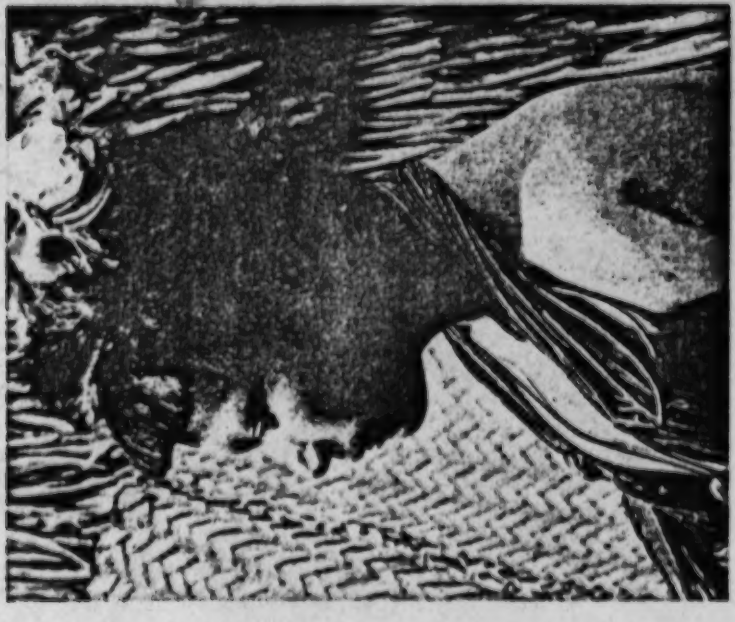

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[P. 432-J]

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FIGURE 1. AIR VIEW OF THE UPPER PARAGUAYAN VALLEY

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BOROROS SHOOTING FISH

[P. 102]

[Plate IV]

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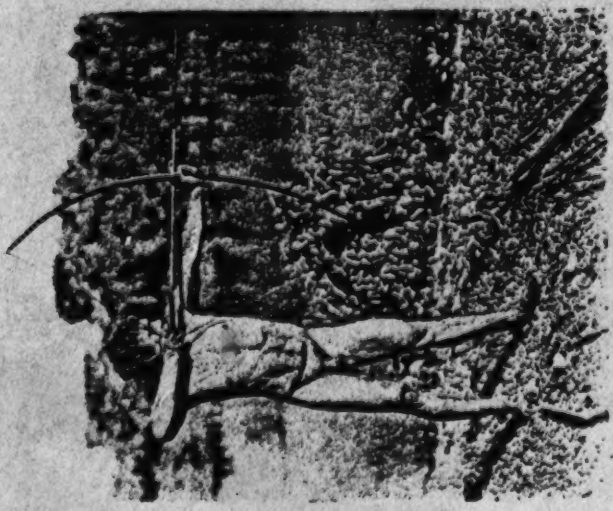

FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO DRAWING THE BOW

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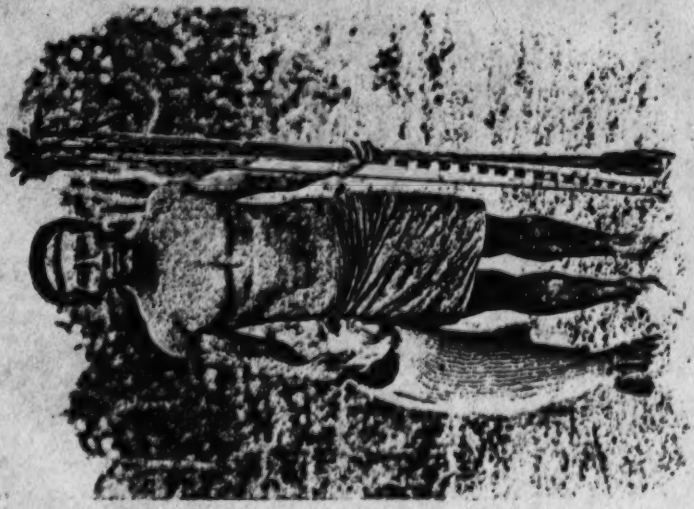

FIGURE 1. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO WITH FULL BOW SHOT

[P.105] [Plate V]

[Bororo da Campanha]

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space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments.

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people.

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

Grass, palm leaves, and splints, are used in making basketry. Some of the baskets are reinforced and decorated with interwoven cotton thread.

Bows [Plate XXII, 8-14]

The bows are uniformly large, only those of the Aura showing a slight comparative smallness. One bow collected from the Naravute measures 262 centimetres in length.

In cross section, the most common is the slightly ovoid; the round bow appears, but is less common, and one of rectangular cross section with rounded corners that was collected was said to have been made by the Suya.

With the tension of the string released, the bows are almost straight. The Suya bow mentioned is curved outwardly at both ends.

None of the bows are reinforced even by lashing. The string is made of fiber or of burity leaf strands. Part of it is wound about the middle of the bow, serving as a reserve should the string break in drawing the bow.

The Bororo bows show greater specialization and higher technique. They are smaller, somewhat flattened, and highly decorated according to the membership of the owner in one of the clans. Colbacchini has given a good description of these.

The pellet bow, similar in almost every feature to one collected by Max Schmidt from the Guató, was collected from the Bororo.

Fish Spears

A number of spears, used to transfix fish found in deep clear pools, were collected from the Yawalapiti-Mehinaku. A Mehinaku with a Yawalapiti wife was first seen using one, and later a number were collected in the Yawalapiti village.

The spear consists of a long wooden shaft, pointed at both ends. One end receives a large bone conical barbed point; the other a long reed extension of the shaft, used only when the depth of the pool is greater than the length of the wooden shaft. The total length of the spear, including the point and the reed extension, is over six metres.

Most of the fishing is done in lagoons or bayous which contained many deep pools. The water is generally crystal clear, so that the hundreds of fish swimming about close to the bottom can be as easily seen as in

SP8 Bororo SP8
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The Bororo arrows show more specilization and difference in technique. They are smaller, in keeping with the smaller bows, with a finer reed and wooden foreshaft. Of the bone points, only the conical points made from the humerus of some mammal is in use. Even this point is smaller and better made than the Kuluseu-Kuluene. The feathering is also quite different. The feathers, spiralled, are lashed to the shaft, not sewed.

The feathers are trimmed on both sides, but unlike the Kuluseu-Kuluene type, not to the midrib on one side. The inner surfaces of the feathers are toward the shaft and each other.

Sometimes the foreshaft has many miniature barbs, and in one case the foreshaft has been serrated on two sides.

Often the bone point is lacking, its place being taken by an accuminated foreshaft.

Bamboo blades on the jaguar and war arrows are common and of two types—a flat wide blade, and a narrow grooved one.

Spears and Throwing Sticks

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A number of throwing-sticks were collected, all conforming to the same type. Only one shows decorations, which consists of a basket sheath. A wooden peg is lashed to the end of the stick, serving to receive the butt of the spear. The spear is thrown in the following manner: the tip of the index finger is inserted in the hole just above the hand grasp, the arm is pulled back and the spear thrown without guiding it with the fingers.

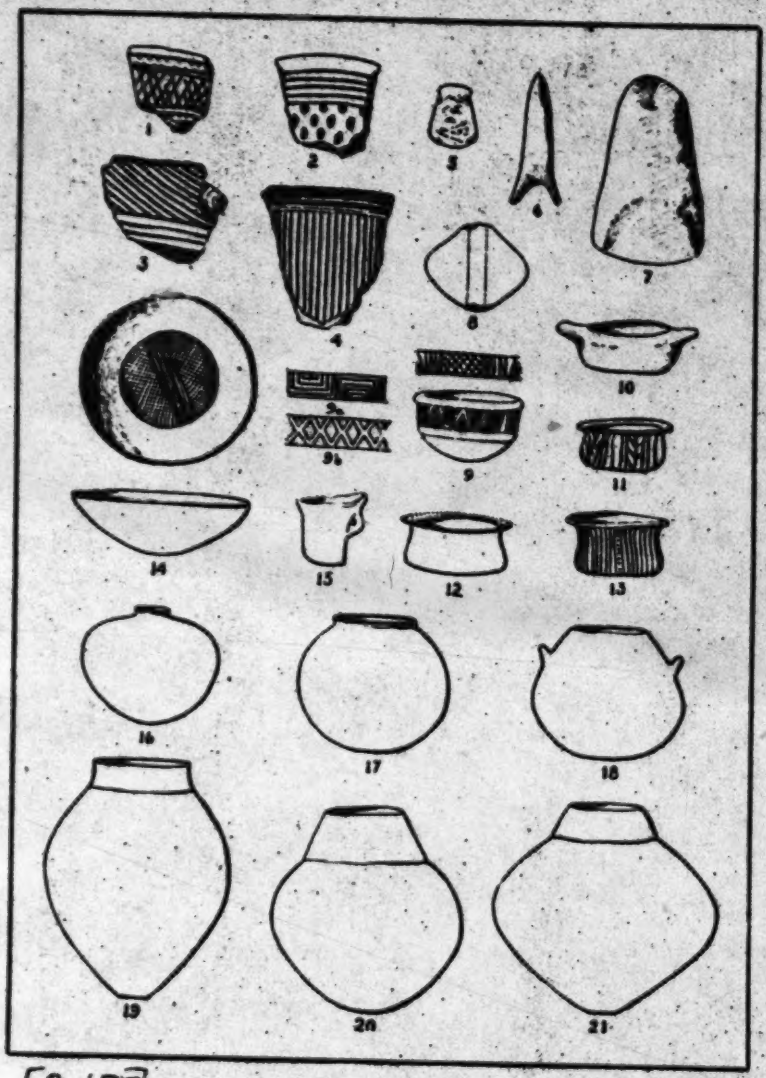
The 'spears' consist of a reed with a heavy knob at the end, which consists often of a piece of wood covered with wax, or some heavy object. The butt is not notched. Many of the spears are inserted in a tucum nut shell with slits in it so that a whistling sound is produced when the spear is thrown. These spears are used only in a game, which consists of two parties lining up facing each other at a good distance and throwing the spears at each other. The goal is to hit one of the other party.

Y
[526]

It seems that the function of the throwing stick with a true spear, such as is used in the Chaco for hunting and war, has been forgotten by these people. In the forest such a method of hunting would not be practicable. [Plate XXIV, 3.]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1
Yaruma SP25 PLATE XII



B
M
172

B
415
411 ●

Y
415
105
171
531

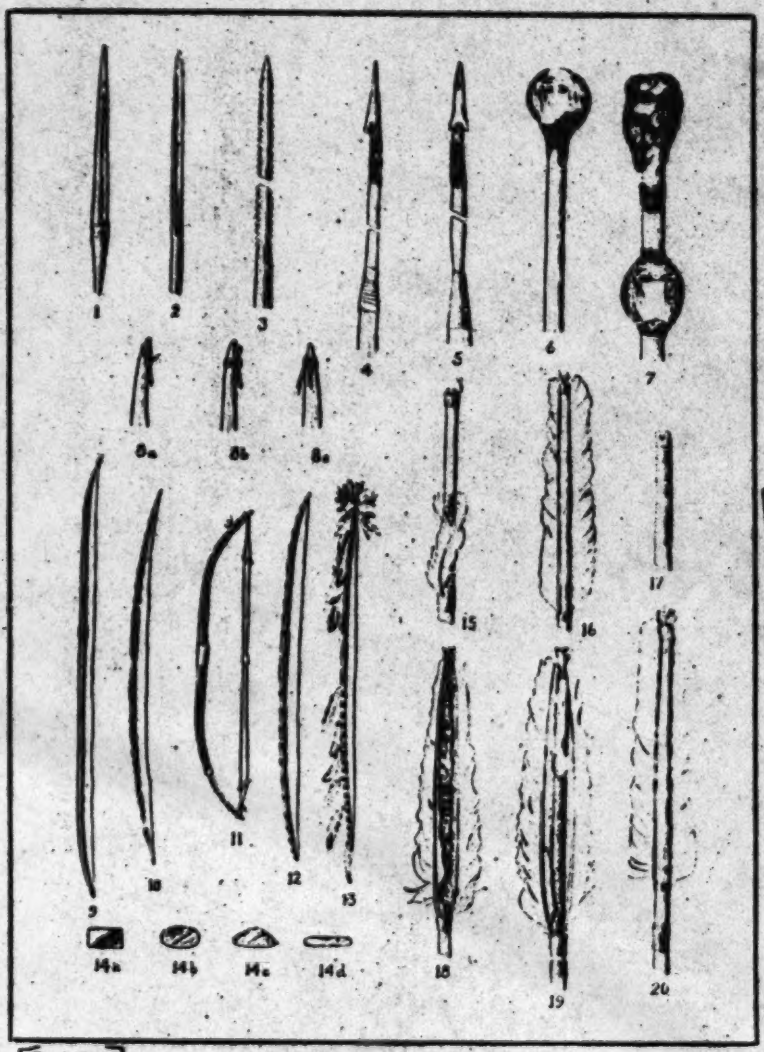
[P. 175]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp. 87-88. — Analyst]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

PLATE XXII



Y
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B
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W
[284
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[P. 179]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp 88-89]

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

/135 cont./

added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family, remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest: 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are evident from the following indications of the same explorer /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/144 cont./

000 goddess of the earth, had in common seven rings. "When they met at night, they would decorate themselves with these rings, that is, the one who was lying on top always wore the first four rings, and the one who was lying underneath wore the remaining three rings" (Leo Frobenius: Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes, /From the Cultural Realm of the Continent/, Berlin, 1923, p. 112). According to an ancient Syrio-Judaic tale, Adam and Eve argued in paradise about which of the two, during coitus, had to lie underneath and which one on top (Frobenius, ibidem).

/145/ To what point the socially inferior position of the woman in our civilization is manifested also with respect to the sexual life is shown by the following expressions: "to possess" or "to use" or "to dishonor" a woman. Our collective morality does not tolerate the woman's using such expressions also with respect to the man. She cannot "possess him," but must "belong to him," she cannot "use him," but she must "surrender herself," and she can never "dishonor him," because she must seduce him in such a way that he considers himself the seducer.

Among our Indians, we shall look in vain for a mentality 562 that establishes similar violent differences between the sexes. This is not contradicted by what Koslowsky (o.c. p. 384) relates about the western Bororo /The following quotation 562 has been translated from the Spanish/: "When they get 224 ready for hunting/the ounce [H.B.]) they begin by [411] observing certain ceremonies, which consist principally of not sleeping with one's wife for four days before leaving to hunt the feline: in this interval he starts by painting his face with urucú, he prepares his arrows at the heat of the fire in order to harden the fibers of the tacuara /bamboo/. Under no circumstance is the woman allowed to touch the point of the arrows, since the Indian believes that with her contact they would lose their power of penetration and that it would [833] attract misfortunes to him." -- When the man avoids relations

773 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
593 and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
Adugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already found out "that any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral." Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

562 We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco (Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner: "When the contention within the hut reached the culminating point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass /148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure, the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
411 duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/148 cont./

578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
123 the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
562 scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
578 but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
521 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to
152 be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
178 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
593 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

5: Baldus--48 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8 Eastern Bororo

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13. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu (Meruri)

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14. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu returning from hunting (Meruri)

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6:Kosfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPB Bororo SPB

ORNATE BOW, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

[p. 42-A]

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[411]
[534]
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[p.42-B]

8:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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made from the mourners' hair, which the hunter wraps around his left wrist to prevent it from being injured by the snap of the bowstring.

EVEN though the shaman has "learned" the location of a jaguar from the spirit of the deceased, several days may pass before the hunter succeeds in finding one. The ensuing struggle between hunter and hunted is a feat of great daring and skill. As soon as a jaguar comes within shooting range, the hunter releases an arrow. He then immediately lifts his bow into a horizontal position and extends it toward the jaguar, pointing the far tip directly at the beast to parry its attack (a single arrow is seldom lethal). This maneuver must be accomplished with great speed before the jaguar pounces. Enraged by pain, the jaguar leaps at the end of the bow, clawing and biting it. Eye to eye the two struggle, the hunter warding off the beast with his bow held rigidly in both hands. When the jaguar recoils to pounce, the hunter quickly looses a second arrow and again raises the bow to protect himself. When the jaguar finally falls to the ground, weakened by the wounds, a last arrow is shot to end the struggle. If the hunter does not deliver this coup de grâce, he may lose the contest, for the jaguar may still have enough strength to attack when the hunter least expects it.

With the help of a companion, the hunter carries the dead jaguar

[p. 42-C]
[text continues on p. 44-B]

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[Ritual dance to appease spirit of the commercial fish. - Analyst]

[p. 43-C] [For caption, see p. 43-B]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

Uneven holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a
[304] priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the club where visitors are received and entertained. The bachytu of the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, however, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years belonging to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WEAPONS.—THE BLOW GUN.—HUNTING.—MARVELOUS FISHERMEN.—THE MANO RACE.—THE WILD MAN'S EVENING ANTHEM.—WOMAN.—UNIQUE MARRIAGES.—FIGHTS.—PRIMITIVE ARITHMETIC.

411 THE weapons of the Bororó, used both in war and in the chase, are huge bows that are longer than the archer is tall, spear-like arrows four or five feet in length, and two styles of clubs, made of iron-like wood, one of which is shaped like an enormous dagger.

[824] They obtain the wood for their bows from a certain palm-tree, and the fibre with which to make their bow strings [283] from the long, slender foliage of another plam. The fibre is stripped out of the green leaves by the primitive artisan, and twisted, or spun, by rolling between the palm of the hand and the leg above the knee as the spinner sits, cross-legged, on his palm-leaf mat, and lastly, these strands are twisted dexterously into cordage in the same manner. The bow is usually wound half its length with reserve string.

The arrows are made by skilfully fitting together three [824] different pieces of wood. The point, or spear part, is made either of taquara or palm-wood, and in a variety of forms, according to the use to be made of it. Broad blade points are used in hunting large game, and for war, while various styles of harpoon points are used for fishing. A special kind of arrow is made which is six feet in length and very

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

heavy, and is shot with a line attached. It is really a harpoon, to be used in fishing. A big Bororó, with a bow six and a half or seven feet in length can launch an arrow with such force as to drive it through a tapir at close range; but he is not an accurate marksman beyond fifty yards. 411

A unique weapon, used by many of the aborigines of the Amazon valley, is the blow-gun. It resembles a gigantic pea-shooter ten or fifteen feet in length, or an enormously elongated bass clarinet, for the mouth-piece is made flaring like the bell of a clarinet. The wild man finds this weapon nearly ready made by Nature. It is constructed of the stem of a palm that grows but fifteen feet high, without joints, and two inches thick, and has a soft, pithy heart, which, when removed, leaves a smooth, polished bore. To make the gun, two of the straightest stems obtainable are selected, one small and the other large; and when the bores are cleared, the small tube is forced inside the large one, in order that one may counteract any slight crookedness in the other. A bell-shaped, or conical wooden mouth-piece is next attached, and sometimes the tube is wound spirally from end to end with the smooth, shiny bark of a creeper. 000

The needle-like arrows are made of the spinous processes of the patawa tree, having a conical tuft of cotton secured to the base, which fits snugly, but not tightly, into the bore of the gun. This projectile is hurled by a short, sharp puff of breath, like a boy shoots a pea, and has a range of forty or fifty yards. But it cannot be propelled with sufficient force to kill anything, so the points of several are dipped in a poisonous liquid just before they are to be used, which immediately stupifies and kills the victim, if only the skin is broken, though the animal may be restored if salt is at once rubbed into its mouth.

Since the blow-gun is noiseless, it is more useful to the primitive hunter than a firearm. With it, he is enabled to bring down monkey after monkey, for instance, until he has bagged an entire troop, whereas, with a firearm, all would be frightened away by the first shot. This weapon has been

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

used with fatal effect against traders ascending narrow streams in canoes, for the savage manipulator, hiding behind the dense masses of trees and bushes that lined the bank of the river, stealthily launched his deadly darts without being discovered.

In war, the Bororó, like many other South American tribes, prefer a hand to hand attack with heavy clubs. If they can choose the hour of attack, they select a moment just before dawn, or else the evening just after dark. They yell fiendishly when making an attack.

The Bororó always build their villages near some important stream, for they look more to the water for their flesh food than to the forest, and are far more expert fishermen than hunters. Though when fish are scarce, which they are during several months each year, they scour the forest in search of game. At such times, entire families leave the village to wander far away through forest and jungle, remaining absent two or three months.

They bravely attack, hand to hand, even the most ferocious game—the jaguar. When this powerful beast attacks a man, it springs to within a few feet of him, then rises up on its hind feet, like a bear, and closes with him. It is remarkable that an animal of the cat family should assume this position; but perhaps it is suggested to it by the upright position of the man. When forced to meet the beast in close combat, the Brazilian hunter provides himself with a heavy bar of wood five or six feet in length and terminating in a fork. Grasping this with the left hand, he holds it inclined in front of him with the foot resting upon the ground, and parries the attack by receiving the brute in the fork, which gives him time to thrust into its vitals the long knife held in the right hand.

But the Bororó hunter rarely uses the fork, employing, instead, a still more dangerous method. Having wound fifteen or twenty yards of hair rope around the left arm, he presents it, doubled, to the great cat when it rises to attack him, and at the same instant, plunges a knife into its heart. I saw

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazil.

226 526 147 These men display amazing strength in the water. They have almost lived in the water from babyhood, and have learned the secret of just how to bring into play nearly every ounce of their great strength. An ordinary swimmer wastes the greater part of his strength in the water because he has not acquired the secret of how to apply it. A Bororó will roll over on his back, seize an object with both hands, and pull almost like a tug-boat.

226 When fish become scarce, part of the men of the village, taking their sack-nets, form a cordon across the river, then bellowing, screaming and diving, treading the water and making a great commotion, drive the scattered fish down the river, much as cowboys round up cattle; while the remaining men, with their sack-nets, form a line across the river two or three miles below to complete the round-up. Thus they corner and bag the fish.

[411] [228] Another method of fishing employed by the Bororó, is with a harpoon. The point, including the one or two barbs, is of bone, and detaches from the staff, which is eighteen inches in length. Fifty or one hundred yards of strong line is wound around the point part and one end secured to the detachable staff. Armed with this weapon, the fisherman dives very quietly to the bottom of the river at a spot which he knows to be the lurking place of a *jahú*, for instance, a fish that grows as large as a man. Espying one as it rests in the shadow of some rock, he approaches it with great stealth, lying, perhaps, motionless in the water and allowing the current to float him gently within reach of his prey. Then, suddenly, he plunges the harpoon into it, and retaining the staff in his hand, he rises quickly to the surface, lands, plays his game, and finally brings it ashore. This method of fishing is practiced when the water becomes less charged with earth.

[41] [229] Still another method of catching fish is with the bow and the large harpoon arrow with the line attached. Thus armed, the fisherman awaits his game at some shallow place, or where the fish pass near the surface of the water; or at a spot where they approach the edge of the river to feed upon certain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men. 226

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon-pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them. [141] [227]

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the natives are contented and grow fleshy. [103] [136] [511]

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them. [501]

One of the most striking traits of character of these children of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita- 151 825

/460 cont./

726 the fire and the grave faces were sharply illuminated for a moment. The dancing lasted half an hour. Then we sat down around the old rattler, who was trembling violently from the exertion and was swallowing great draughts of water; we had to hold the pot to his mouth, for otherwise it would not have reached its goal. Now, however, we were all filled with fresh courage; the venerable old man, in a half singing tone, expatiated further on the subject of the agenda and our great chorus replied either an enraptured "uakína," "very good," or with coarse laughter, "hahahá," or with a determined threat, "uh...."

At noon on 3 April the patriotic enthusiasm against the unseen foe reached its climax. We were sitting and eating when suddenly ten or twelve Bororó came storming up in weird attire. In the [411] lead Moguyokuri, drunk, his face flushed, in my Turkish woman's jacket, armed, or rather loaded, with bow, arrows, a maize pestle, and a heavy ax blade without a handle, behind him José Domingo, face and body blackened with soot, swinging a beautiful bow decorated with ostrich feathers, a black hair-string around his right wrist for protection against the snapping bowstring, on a strap around his naked stomach a cavalry saber, and similarly fitted out for war the rest of the heroes -- last not least /given in English/ the idiot Dyapokuri. This unfortunate fool had also smeared himself all over with soot, around his pathological skull he had wound a black hair string, like a Chinese his pigtail, on his back hung a long kitchen knife, and with his right hand he twirled a club in the air; like one possessed, uttering inarticulate sounds, he leaped about to the laughter of the company at the table. The terrible warriors were setting out to seek the traces of the Kayapó. They soon returned, they had found nothing suspicious, the foolish people seemed to have come to their senses, and the episode was ended.

302 In the men's house in the morning there had been great activity; during the afternoon and into the evening a dozen Bororó were busy coloring the hair, face, and body of their lovers a festive bright red, and outside, after darkness descended, an entirely different 000 kind of scene was enacted. A child of about two which had been

763 /460 cont./ A child of about Two which had been struggling with death for about 24 hours and whose end the baris had predicted for today was brought out in front of the hut. The mother was holding it in her lap; the medicine men and relatives sat around and lamented. Behind the mother squatted the father; for a while he remained motionless, then -- one of the onlookers was just lighting his pipe -- /461/ he drew a cord around the neck of the poor little mite and quickly brought to fulfillment the prophecy of the doctors. Immediately everyone except the [535] mother got up; the medicine men fetched their feather ornaments [764] and rattles and, with a booming "aroé..., aroé..." song, commenced the mourning dance.

726 The festivity in the ranchão and the mourning ceremonies outside suddenly suffered a mighty disturbance, however, when two shots were heard from the forest. Somebody there was again shooting at the Kayapó! One man who was sleeping off his intoxication had caught sight of them and heard them shouting! Having waked up, he sounded the alarm and a mad hubbub was ●[411] the result. Eliseo had the soldiers report; in no time the plaza was filled with men, all of whom carried bows and arrows, clubs, and axes, with women who had packed up all their belongings in carrying baskets and were dragging their children or pushing them on ahead, with half-grown boys, most of whom were also armed. [764] Only the woman with the little dead creature in her lap remained [535] in her place, and a few dancers with the great radial wheel of red arara feathers around their heads stamped, sang, rattled on steadfastly, or, after they had mingled for a moment in the bustle, returned to their duty.

The crowd was milling about wildly and pressing around the main building. The soldiers stood there in a long row; the cadets and officials could scarcely defend themselves against the onslaught, and no one could hear his own words. It was a dark night as well. The agitated ones demanded an immediate crossing to the other river bank before the Kayapó arrived; the entire company was ready to march. Fortunately, the people did not dare separate themselves from the soldiers. There was such a surging and seething that one did not know whether he still had possession of his five senses. Gradually the surging

2: Steinen--600 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
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Plate XXVIII

142
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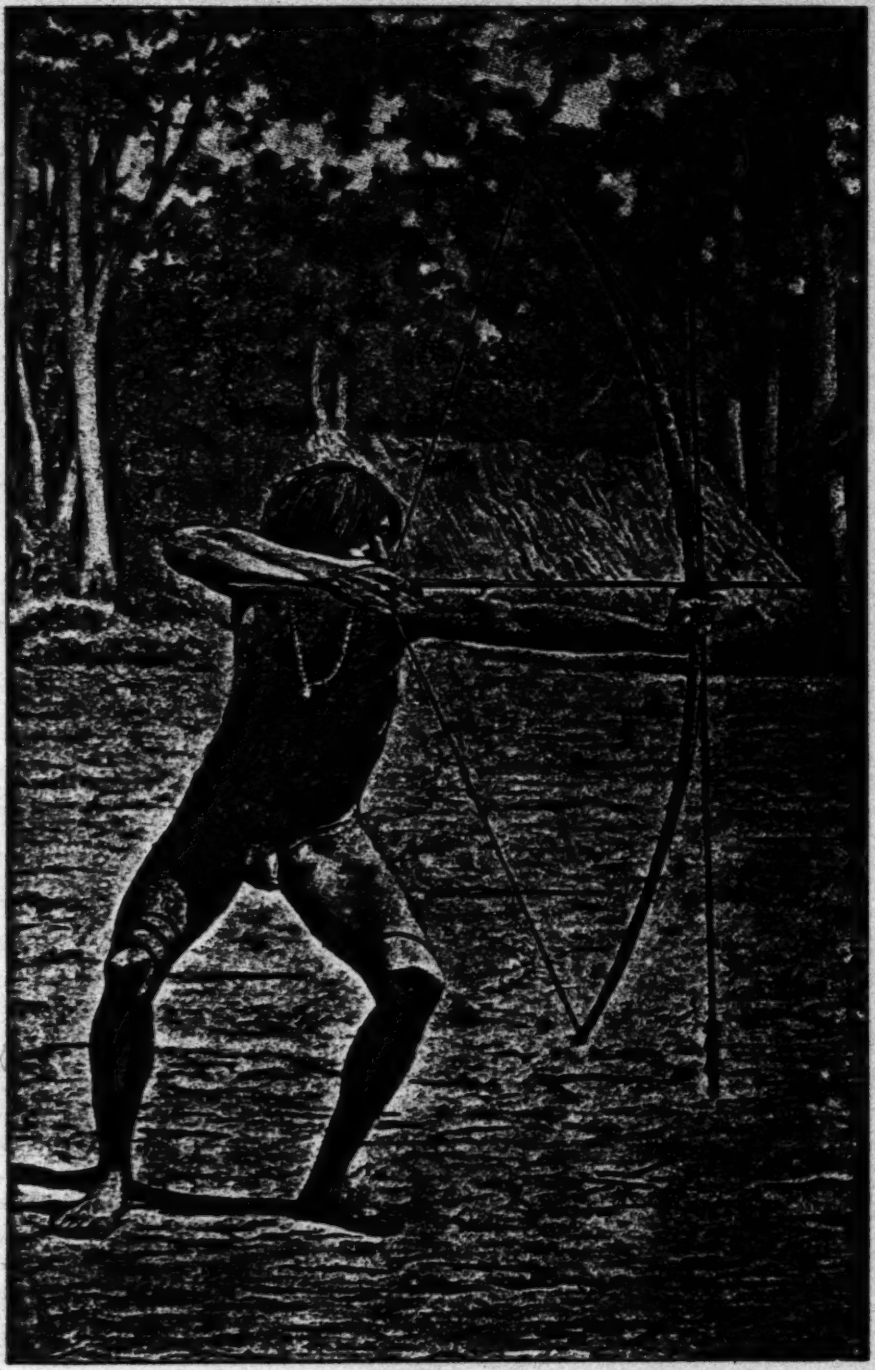
411



Bororó shooting.

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians íka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

● 411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs 237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [53] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

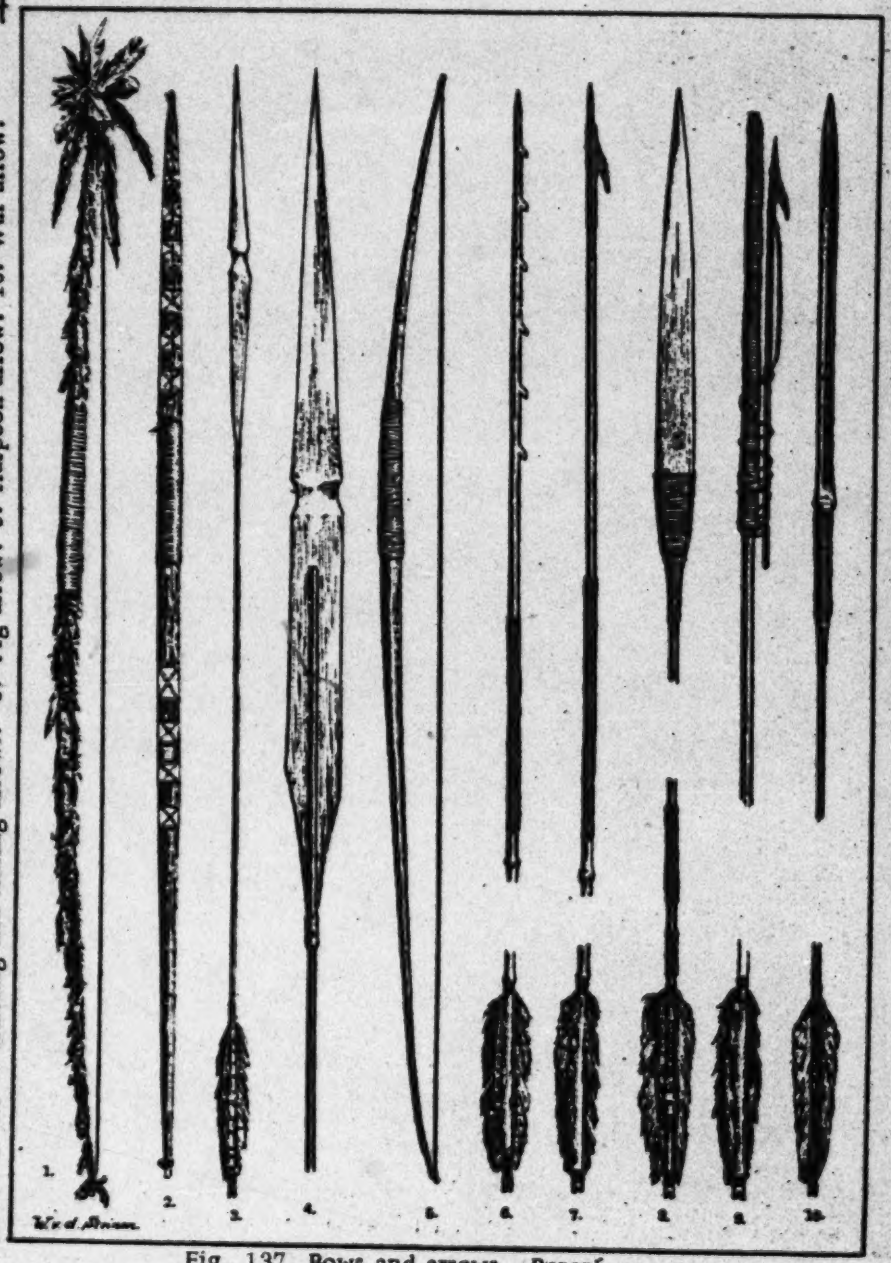
[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

2: Steinen--605 F,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8



1. Bow of the chief, 2. of the jaguar hunter. 3. Jaguar arrow. 4. Bamboo point of 3. 5. Ordinary bow. 6 and 7. Hunting and fishing arrows. 8. Pig arrow. 9. Harpoon arrow. 10. War arrow.

Fig. 137. Bows and arrows. Bororó.

/485 cont./

411 The arrows are one and a half to one and three-fourths meters long. In the case of the most common type of hunting and fishing arrows pointed sticks of wood are driven into the kambayuva reed and on them sit a sharpened piece of bone. Or a bone is tied on [239] as a barb, No. 7, or the wood is notched, No. 6. The bones come from the monkey or the tapir. For bird hunting, arrows with blunt points are used; they bear a wooden cone, the wider end at the top, and in the center of the surface they are provided with a pointed knob.

Fig. 138. Bororó shooting.

Other arrows have sharpened pieces of bamboo as points; the bamboo is hung in smoke for a long time, so that it dries out sufficiently. The simplest form, which is used in hunting wild pigs, is shown by No. 8. 1/4 The flat bamboo point, 30-40 centimeters long, two and a half centimeters wide, is lashed to the reed shaft. No. 3 shows the beautiful seriba arrow for hunting jaguars; the entire arrow is one and three-fourths meters long, the feathered end-piece 24 centimeters, the bamboo point 60 centimeters long and three centimeters wide. The seriba shaft rests in a /486/ groove of the flat

1/4 [See P. 605--Analyst]

/486 cont./

411 bamboo point, hollowed out with the capibara chisel, and is only loosely fastened with a little resin and string; cf. No. 4. The war arrow, No. 10, also carved out of seriba, bears a very narrow (one to two centimeters) piece of bamboo, round, but sharpened along its entire length (37 centimeters). The bamboo points break off in the body.

The barbed arrow is equipped with a harpoon device to catch alligators and larger fish. The length of the harpoon arrow in No. 9 was 1.78 centimeters /sic/, 31 centimeters of which should be allowed for the barbed stick fastened to a rope; the shaft, a thick ubá reed, was additionally wound half a meter in breadth.

The snapshot in Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ and Plate 28 /see p. 600/ show the stretching of the bow. The crouching archer holds the bow horizontally; the standing one, vertically. A reserve arrow is held parallel to the bow with the left hand. In this case the arrow rests to the left of the bow on the index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. At its rear end it is grasped between thumb and index finger, the thumb lets go, the index finger, in extended position, supports and adjusts the arrow more accurately, the other three fingers, especially the middle [171] finger, stretch the bowstring. Thus, the stretching is different from that on the Kulisehu (cf. page 237). In the case of the crouching archer, where the arrow lies on the bow and is slightly pressed against it there by the tip of the index finger of the left hand, the position of the stretching right hand differs insofar as the rear end of the arrow is held between the tightly grasping thumb and the bent index finger.

345 Work in the men's house and techniques. Each one had his particular place: one who lived in the direction of the river, in the corner facing the river, and so forth, all according to the [571] position of the house of the nearest relatives. Here where the Indians were among themselves there prevailed, except for the sexual practices, a commendable order, even according to our 461 concepts. A person who had nothing to do, of course, idled with great perseverance, but a person who was occupied with his weapons, ornaments, and implements worked indefatigably and

/495 cont./

526 suddenly become very serious; the problem is to trip up the other one and thus bring him down. One of them opens the attack by trying to get his heel into the hollow of the knee of the other one and to bend it, but the latter places his tensely straightened leg so far back that the former cannot exert any pressure. Soon the attempts follow one another extremely rapidly on both sides until one falls. He may always take revenge. A small, agile, but ugly and one-eyed man whom we called the clown, but who was called Camões by his Cuyaban baptismal name, was excellent at this sort of entertainment in the ranchão, in that he threw three or four of his tallest fellow-tribesmen, one after the other. /496/ His stronger rivals, and surpassing him in size, used to point him out proudly, but at the same moment had his heel in the hollow of their knees and crashed to the ground.

[411] Shooting with the bow on the open plaza was often practiced. The photographs of Plate 28 /see p. 600/ and Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ were taken in connection with this.

Very popular among old and young was the burika, an invention of the soldiers: a horizontal beam, with short ropes at both ends, which turned in the center on a post; cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/ where a crowd /Fig. 143 appears here/ of boys is having fun with the game. While one would sit astride on either end and others would run along hanging onto the ropes, the beam was swung around in faster and faster rotation by someone who remained a few moments longer at the post, until the riders were usually hurled to the ground.

524 In Figure 143 /see p. 621/ two kinds of toys are combined: papá, the ball plaited out of maize straw with an arara feather, and tagóra, a whip with a black urubu feather at the end of the string. The boys would swing the feather whip and enjoy the mild excitement of seeing the feather stand upright for a moment upon the ground if the handle of the whip was moved downward with a flick of the wrist. I once saw two boys make a bee and a butterfly flutter on a string.

534 765 Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Only the large rattle gourds up to 20 centimeters long and a small blow-gourd, poári,

2: Steinen--630 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP 8

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the
[515] forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*zumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

●411 [726] The siriva palm wood bow (*boíko*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. 411 The 5-foot arrow (*ísho*) is made by fixing a notched canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. 224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 [824] Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*bákye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (1)]